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FM JERUSALEM

TO WHITE HOUSE

S E C R E T 170221Z DEC 73 SENSITIVE EYES ONLY

HAKTO 55 FLASH

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT  
FROM: SECRETARY KISSINGER

1. FOR YOUR BACKGROUND, I HAVE JUST COMPLETED MORE THAN SIX HOURS OF DISCUSSIONS WITH MRS. MEIR, ALLON, SAPIR, EBAN, DAYAN AND OTHER COLLEAGUES. MRSS. MEIR CALLED CABINET INTO SESSION AT 1:00 A.M. MONDAY, AND CABINET APPROVED ACTION DESCRIBED BELOW.

2. PLEASE TELL DOBRYNIN IMMEDIATELY THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE AGREED TO THE TEXT OF THE LETTER IN PARAGRAPH 5 BELOW, TO WHICH PRESIDENT SADAT HAD PREVIOUSLY AGREED.

3. PLEASE ASK DOBRYNIN TO HAVE THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN SYRIA PRESENT THE LETTER TO THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT AND SEEK SYRIAN AGREEMENT DECEMBER 17. REMIND DOBRYNIN THAT ASAD TOLD ME THAT ANY TEXT AGREEABLE TO SADAT WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO HIM.

4. IN ADDITION, PLEASE POINT OUT TO DOBRYNIN THAT BREZHNEV GAVE US HIS WORD OF HONOR THAT THE PRISONERS WOULD BE RELEASED SHORTLY AFTER THE CEASEFIRE. IF SOVIET PROMISES ARE TO MEAN ANYTHING, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE SYRIANS PRODUCE A LIST OF PRISONERS BY THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE. IF THIS IS NOT DONE, WE CANNOT GUARANTEE

THAT ISRAEL WILL STAY AT THE CONFERENCE.

5. THE TEXT OF THE JOINT US-USSR LETTER TO WALDHEIM NOW READS AS FOLLOWS:

State Dept. review completed

BEGIN TEXT.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY GENERAL:

ON OCTOBER 22, 1973, THE SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED RESOLUTION 338, JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES WHICH CALLS FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO START BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCERNED UNDER APPROPRIATE AUSPICES, AIMED AT ESTABLISHING A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE NOW BEEN INFORMED BY THE PARTIES CONCERNED OF THEIR READINESS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PEACE CONFERENCE. THE CONVENING OF THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE  
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

\*\*\*\*\* \* \* \* \* \* WHSR COMMENT \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

SCOWCROFT, MCFARLANE, SECFILE

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IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT EGYPT, ISRAEL, JORDAN AND SYRIA HAVE AGREED TO PARTICIPATE FROM THE OUTSET IN THE CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD BEGIN IN GENEVA ON DECEMBER 21. THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE UNDER THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES. THE PARTIES HAVE ALSO AGREED THAT THE QUESTION OF OTHER PARTICIPANTS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST AREA WILL BE DISCUSSED DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE.

IT IS OUR HOPE THAT YOU WILL FIND IT POSSIBLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OPENING PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE AT WHICH IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED WILL BE REPRESENTED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND LATER BY THEIR SPECIALLY APPOINTED REPRESENTATIVES WITH AMBASSADORIAL RANK. WE ALSO HOPE THAT YOU CAN MAKE AVAILABLE A REPRESENTATIVE WHO WOULD KEEP YOU FULLY INFORMED AS THE CONFERENCE PROCEEDS. FINALLY, WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE IT IF THE UNITED NATIONS COULD MAKE APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NECESSARY CONFERENCE FACILITIES.

IF AS WE HOPE YOU FIND IT POSSIBLE TO PARTICIPATE, AS CO-CHAIRMEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE U.S. WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD AGREE TO SERVE AS CONVENER OF THE CONFERENCE AND PRESIDE IN THE OPENING PHASE.

WE REQUEST THAT YOU CIRCULATE THIS LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR THEIR INFORMATION. WE BELIEVE, IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONSULT INFORMALLY WITH THE MEMBERSHIP WITH A VIEW TO SECURING A FAVORABLE CONSENSUS OF THE COUNCIL.  
END TEXT.

6. YOU SHOULD CALL DOBRYNIN'S ATTENTION TO THE MINOR CHANGE FROM THE PREVIOUS DRAFT OF THE FINAL SENTENCE OF THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE LETTER. WHEREAS IT USED TO READ: QUOTE THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE CONVENED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNQUOTE, IT NOW READS: QUOTE THE CONVENING OF THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS. UNQUOTE. SHOULD THE SOVIETS OBJECT TO THIS CHANGE, TELL DOBRYNIN WE WILL GO BACK TO THE PREVIOUS LANGUAGE.

7. FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY, WE ARE ASKING EILTS TO RUN THE LETTER TO FAHMI ONE LAST TIME. WE ALSO ASKING JORDANIANS FOR FINAL AGREEMENT AS A COURTESY, ALTHOUGH THIS IS CERTAIN. AS SOON AS WE HAVE RESPONSES FROM ALL, WE WILL BE READY TO CONCERT WITH SOVIETS ON SENDING TO WALDHEIM. AT THAT POINT, WE WILL WANT TO SUGGEST TO HIM THE EXACT WORDING OF HIS BRIEF INVITATION.

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